

The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training  
Foreign Affairs Oral History Project  
Labor Series

**LOUIS E. MOORE**

*Interviewed by: James F. Shea and Don R. Kienzle*

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[Note: this interview was not edited by Mr. Moore.]

MOORE: ...because of my background. Even though I was born in the States, I always kept a great deal of interest in Latin America. My father worked in the Panama Canal and that is the reason we went to live there. He served with the merchant marines and he was one of the pilots that took the boats across the canal. In 1931 when I was born it was the height of the depression; he was left without a job. His only choice was to accept Panama as a post, so he went there to work on the Panama Canal. I was nine months old, so Spanish was my first language. The loyalty, is still the U.S. flag except that I actually praise the fact that I spent all of my growing up years until I was 21 in Latin America. I lived in Costa Rica and Panama growing up. I saw violence for the first time in Panama as a student in the Instituto Nacional de Panama which was the only secondary school in Panama. A famous predecessor to Torrijos, Comandante Lemonde, took over the government. The only opposition were the students, and I was a student. We demonstrated against that. He drove the horses against us and the tear gas and all of that, and for the first time I saw violence in 1947. You might recall that was associated then, they blamed the U.S. You remember escalating the walls and the fences in the Panama Canal and there were students that came over them.

*SHEA: I remember that very well.*

MOORE: I was on the Panama side of that at the time.

*SHEA: Why don't we start off like this. I'll say good afternoon, my name is Jim Shea a retired Labor Attaché and I am here with my good friend and partner Don Kienzle who is the executive director of the oral history labor program of the State Department. We are here to interview my good friend and longtime colleague in Latin America, Lou Moore, who is the international director of the Communication Workers of America and is now giving us some of his background.*

*KIENZLE: We normally start off by asking about the background and education, so if we may use that it is fine.*

MOORE: I will just informally try to tell you why this strategy of working together to look for a better world was very much in keeping with my what I had inside.

*KIENZLE: How did you get into the labor movement?*

MOORE: I came back to the States because I had a Dear John letter. I was living in Costa Rica at the time about the Korean War. I became a member of the United States Air Force for four years from 1952-1956. When I got out, there were very few jobs available even for people who had some training. I had a lot of training in electronics. I had been with the 93rd. bomb wing which was part of the Strategic Air Command. So the time I spent in the Air Force, a lot of it was spent in training. They trained you a lot because they wanted you to do whatever you had been trained to do.

*SHEA: You were born in San Francisco.*

MOORE: I was born in San Francisco in 1931, and then my parents went to Central America to Panama. I lived there until I came back in 1951 to go and serve. Then when I got out, through the on the job training program—the Cal Vets had a program; they loaned you money if you wanted to buy a house; they loaned you money if you wanted to go to school. They also gave the company money to hire you for on the job training. Then Pacific Telephone was operating in that region, and I went to work in Santa Cruz. That is where my father was living at the time and my sister. I had a brother living close to San Jose in Santa Clara, so I went to work with the Pacific Telephone. As soon as I went to work with the phone company—we had a very good contract with the Pacific Telephone—the steward immediately contacted me and asked me to join the union. I became a union member and about three months later, the steward from the plant department because I became what they call an inside plant technician. At the time they were called switchmen that had to deal with all the equipment inside the central office. This fellow's name was Tomatzik. He was my predecessor as a steward. He was picked by the company to go, at the time they were just developing all this number five crossbar and step by step technologies and automatic message account. Remember this is the early 50s. The technology was just still in the very early stages. Tom was very sharp and they sent him to the Bell Labs as an assigned technician. So when he was leaving he asked me if I would take over the inside plant, the steward for the inside plant. Of course I went through training. From then on, all is history. I became the vice president of the local and then the president of the local.

*SHEA: Your father was a native of California?*

MOORE: My father was a fourth generation native of California. My father, my grandfather, and my great grandfather all came from the west coast. The Moore family was very prevalent.

*SHEA: Your mother?*

MOORE: My mother was born in what was then part of Colombia which is Panama now, but it was then Colombia. That is where she met my father in San Francisco; she went to school in San Francisco. Those years, you are talking about 50-60 years ago, for a person

to come from Central America to study in the U.S. to become a teacher, that really was something.

*SHEA: What was your mother's name?*

MOORE: Incarnacion Grimaldo. It is an Italian name but she was very much—the independence of Panama was 1903, she had been born just before that.

*KIENZLE: I see. I think Panama was split off when we developed the Panama Canal from Colombia.*

MOORE: That is right. Actually Teddy Roosevelt. We were not directly involved in the building of the canal in the beginning, it was a French company, and we took over. We took over in 1917, but from 1903 we had boats off the coast of Colombia to make sure that Panama was able to become independent. I think the interest of the U.S. was to make sure there was some way to get from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Then, later on, it became evident that most of the fruit that came from the west coast to go to the Pacific needed to go through the canal. The banana and coffee became very important products.

*SHEA: The Spanish American War drove home the need for a canal. The fleet had to go around.*

MOORE: Right. When we went to Panama one of the biggest dangers was, first they didn't have any schools for the families of the people working on the canal. Second, there was still yellow fever and especially any of those diseases associated with mosquitoes.

*KIENZLE: The anopheles mosquito.*

MOORE: Yes, you are familiar with that. Okay, they have different varieties of sicknesses that you can get from the mosquitoes. They finally eradicated that. That is when we finally ended up going to, my family, brother and sister and myself, we went to live in Costa Rica in San Jose. It was close enough but still it was up high.

*KIENZLE: Getting back to your personal career from the local, what happened?*

MOORE: In the local I went through and became D-5 which is the highest paid technician inside of the plant. I was a good employee. I had a good attendance record. The reason I was involved with the union was not because I was a bad employee or looking for protection; it was just because my peers picked me for that. When I ran for vice president, I ran with a fellow named Fred Wagner who was a very fine guy. He loved to play golf with me. He wanted me to be his vice president. Normally we would go and handle the grievances. That would be at 2:00 P.M. and we would be finished at 3:00 P.M. and instead of going back to the office, we would go and play golf. He was a great friend, but then he transferred to Orange County. In the process of expansion, he was offered a better job with the company, and he moved. I became the President.

*KIENZLE: He moved to Southern California then.*

MOORE: He moved to southern California. Then I became the president, and I was elected again. In 1964 they asked me for the first time to go on staff, but I had too many things going. I was working as a policeman part time getting some extra money. Santa Cruz is a summer resort, and they used to have the Miss California pageant there. Sometimes I worked more hours as a policeman than I did at the regular job. Then I was single. I was driving a Corvette. I had a wonderful standard of living. But then, this new staff rep that went to represent my local, we have staff reps that service the locals in different regions, and they are the ones that serve as the connection between the national union for the policies and the direction. Someone by the name of Alimino Montez who passed away about 10 years ago. He said, Lou, you have to come on staff. I said sorry I am having too much of a good time here, so why should I. Finally I accepted. The following year I went into the Staff program they had at the University of Michigan. They had me go to the University of Michigan for six months training so that I would become a staff representative. At the time Joe Burn had a policy that you could not go back and serve in your own district. You had to go to another district, and that was for political reasons. He didn't want people who went on the staff to go back and then run against people who were there already. My choice was to get assigned someplace else in the U.S. and at the time it was early in the beginning of our relationship with the PTTI. Joe said, "Well, Lou, do you want to go and spend some time on a temporary basis for six months?" The office of the PTTI was in Lima. "Go there and see if you like it. If not, you can always come back." I said okay so I went as a loan to the PTTI.

*KIENZLE: With or without Corvette?*

MOORE: No I couldn't. You know what happened? When I went down there, Wally Lady was the American representative. I sold everything. Not only that, I had a little '41 Ford with an Oldsmobile engine in it. We just could do all of those things. You know this is a small town. Have you been in Santa Cruz?

*KIENZLE: This is vintage California. I went to Stanford at the same time. That was 1956-60.*

MOORE: A big part of life was to cruise Main Street in a nice souped up car you know.

*KIENZLE: How far is it from San Jose?*

MOORE: It is just across the mountain from San Jose. It is a beautiful summer resort because the mountains are between them and the city, and then you don't have any industry there. It is a service community. It is beautiful. They have like a bay and a merry go round and an entertainment facility and nice beaches and all. If you were in that area at that time and you didn't go, they used to do skin diving as part of the activity and surfing. That is where surfing became very popular. Then the city grew very much because part of the University of California was built there. So as you can see my work as a policeman got a little more salary. It was also a great deal of fun because in a small

town like that, never, nothing ever happened.

*SHEA: So you worked for Wally Lady?*

MOORE: Yes. I was assigned to go to Lima. I went after having been trained as a staff rep for the CWA. I didn't know what PTTI was. I knew that we were affiliated to a world organization. I was briefed here in Washington, and I went down there. I met Wally. Wally kind of fell in love with me. We had a great relationship. He was a great guy and a wonderful human being. Did you ever meet Wally Lady?

*SHEA: No I never.*

MOORE: Wally is the guy I showed you here in this picture. He has a resemblance with...

*SHEA: Great fun. This gentleman here.*

MOORE: Yeah he was a great guy. Too bad he had emphysema, and as you know that is a recurring problem, and he was very sick. So, I actually became almost like his assistant without a title. You know, I was organizing the research department. I did a number of things. One of the things I did was I edited the Unity which was a publication we had in three languages out of the Lima office.

*SHEA: You had English, Espanol and Portuguese.*

MOORE: Yeah, and I also started to be as a regional director for them, organizing seminars in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. Then running errands for him whenever someone needed to be on a special assignment. I guess he was also feeling me out to get to know me as well. I was someone he didn't know, and I didn't know him. I didn't know the organization. In 1966...

*SHEA: You came to Argentina?*

MOORE: No, not until 1967, April 1967. I came back to Washington in 1966, and I became responsible for the U.S. Canada and the Caribbean of the PTTI. Working out of the Washington office. That was because—do you remember Marvin Murtu?

*KIENZLE: Very well. He was from California too.*

MOORE: Yeah, he was from San Raphael. Marvin Murtu was moved to Brazil. This was an important office at the time because the purpose of this office was to try to get resources and interact with all of the programs that were in existence at the time. Since he was so basic, and not everybody knew how to work these things, to get money from the different institutes and especially from the AIFLD. Of course I had to deal with Bill Daugherty. Then what happened was that in 1967 it was already clear that the Tupamaros were ready to take over Uruguay. We had someone there by the name of Augustin Torres

Lasus; do you remember that?

*SHEA: Sure.*

MOORE: He was a regional representative there. He was weak in some areas. He didn't have very many organizing skills. He was a good administrator. He was a very suave guy; he knew a lot; he was very intelligent. He graduated from Salamanca University. He never had been in the trade union movement to have the experience to run meetings and talk to workers, so I was asked to go there. I was the only single guy who could be asked to go to that sea of problems in Uruguay. So little did I know that...

*SHEA: That is when I first met you.*

MOORE: Soon after I got there, of course Gestido passed away which was the only balancing act there, and it became almost an open war. They started killing people and kidnapping even Ambassadors. They kidnapped the Ambassador from the UK. The first casualty was... do you remember that? That was the first diplomat that got killed in Uruguay. They took him; they—

*SHEA: Dan...*

MOORE: Dan Mitrione, yeah, from AID. They took him and killed him cowardly by the way. It was a very difficult assignment, but at the same time I was given Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Brazil, so I was actually traveling to all of those countries. Soon after that, of course, there was the military dictatorship in Argentina. Later on we went over there.

*SHEA: Who was that?*

MOORE: Allende in Chile, and Stroessner in Paraguay. It wasn't an easy life for me. And there was a military dictatorship in Brazil as well. I was trying to run seminars which I thought was the basic thing to get unions to be organized, attract them to a seminar and then give them some of the reasons why they should.

*SHEA: Wasn't the guy in Uruguay Feloni?*

MOORE: Emil Feloni was the head of the federation of communications at the time. The strategy of Tupamaros and the communists was to take over the labor movement, and they had succeeded, so my job there was to try to build. My strategy was to go all over the country and look for the old leadership of the previous unions, and I ran into some who were willing to start working again.

*SHEA: Even though we have a labor attaché there?*

MOORE: Yes, very much so because he wasn't very helpful at the time. This is again a case in point.

*SHEA: Who was that?*

MOORE: Abe Rubenstein was the labor attaché there. This is one of the problems of having a program like...

*KIENZLE: I lost my folder. I had a folder like this with all of the historical list of the labor attaches there.*

*SHEA: Bernie Faldanalo was there before Abe Rubenstein. I don't know if you knew him.*

MOORE: Because of the special program that this was, a big chunk of money had been put at the disposal of the embassy, and they were in fact running the program. I tried to talk to Irwin until I was blue in the face. I said, "Irwin, I speak the language. I mix with these people so they don't even know that I am an American, so I have a tremendous advantage." I'm taking sides here because the backbone of the national trade union center was the telephone workers union. It was run by Vladimir Touliansky. Does that sound like a name that is Latin? Touliansky, was the name of the guy who was head of the telephone workers union, and then the CTN which was the national center, was totally controlled by the communists. They had absolute control of the minds of the people, and it was just a matter of time until they took over, especially with the death of president Gestido. He kind of maintained a balancing act. Well under the circumstances, I was working like there, Orit was working there and the ITF was working, FIAT and ourselves, and we each had our own program. We had to get the money through Irwin. He would go through somebody by the name of, well actually it was put in the hands of the institute, but the institute of course, had to go to him. He had a great deal to say about the policies. At some point we had a meeting with Bill Daugherty. He came down and he wanted us to report larger numbers than we actually had so that he could show that we were making progress.

I said, wait a minute, if you do that now, when you come back six months from now, you would not be able to report any increase and it would look like we are not doing anything. I'd like you to know that at this moment I am working with people who are taking their lives in their hands. They should not have to end up going around waving the U.S. flag. Even though I may be one of the few who is a veteran. I have fought for this country so I may not sound like I am, but I am an American and believe in our principles. But I think you should know that in organizing strategy, you don't give anything away to the opposition. And then the element of surprise of course.

He insisted that I give him higher figures. Bill was taking notes you know, so that he could bring them. I said no. They were talking about 4,000 that we already had organized. We don't even have 400 people that I can depend on. So I became a bad word, and once you get on the bad list of Bill Daugherty, you are finished. At some point I took to Rubenstein and I said, "Well, listen. I need the money to do the program I am doing." I had hired some people. My strategy was to build the regions, the estados, and then build a small federation, and then chunk them in. We did succeed, but it took some time. I think

that being democratic doesn't mean being pro U.S. It doesn't necessarily mean the same thing. You can be anti-communist. That doesn't mean that you are pro American. Some people don't understand that. I know that you do because you worked in international settings so much.

*KIENZLE: So this was AID money that was coming from the Embassy to the institute and then to PTTI?*

MOORE: AID money. Yeah, to PTTI and the other trade secretariat. Do you remember someone by the name of Gladnik?

*SHEA: Very well.*

MOORE: Yeah, Gladnik was hand-picked by the institute to handle the money so he was the moneybags in that. But this guy was in a constant fight with the director of the program which was a very able young man.

*SHEA: He lives here in Washington. He is retired now.*

*KIENZLE: Who is this?*

MOORE: He was there at the same time.

*SHEA: Gladnik.*

MOORE: The guy who was there as the director of the AISOD program was Bob Hooley. Gladnik was put with equal power but holding all the moneybags. Then, of course, when I refused to follow instructions, I was cut off. You know, I didn't have any money, and I had already made commitments and my program was moving along very well. So I called Joe Byrne; I said, "Joe, you know what is happening, these organizing things they want me to show my cards and I can't do it." He said, "Don't worry; I'll fix it." I said, "How are you going to fix it?" He said, "I'll send you the money directly." So he got me the money.

*KIENZLE: Joe Byrne at this time was an international director...*

*SHEA: He was the President of CWA.*

*KIENZLE: The president of CWA; the predecessor of Al Shanker in effect.*

MOORE: No there was someone in between. Teddy Gleason became at some point.

*SHEA: Teddy Gleason was from the ILA.*

MOORE: The Chairman of the international affairs committee, also very close with George Meany.

*KIENZLE: Of the national presidency.*

MOORE: Yeah, but I approached him as my president. You know, he was the one who in fact asked me to do this. Every time I had problems. That was not the only time I had problems. I had problems organizing in Costa Rica for example. In 1972 I was trying to organize the telephone workers there, and the Embassy was contacted by the President of the country that there was an American stirring up stuff in Costa Rica and they wanted me out. That was Terry Todman who was the Ambassador then. He called me in. I said, "Listen, all I am doing is organizing." I had my credentials.

*SHEA: This was in Costa Rica.*

MOORE: Costa Rica. \_\_\_\_\_ He said, "I know but I still have to comply with what President Sigurres." They didn't want this the Isse which actually was not only telephone but telephone, light and power and all of the energy they control. It was overrun by the oligarchy of Costa Rica and still is. So, he didn't want me organizing that.

*KIENZLE: But this was a later assignment.*

MOORE: That was a later assignment but just to tell you, there again I had to call Joe and say Joe they are going to throw me in jail unless you intervene. He said, "Don't worry I'll get you squared away." Then Todman called me in and said, "We know. Keep doing what you are doing, but keep a low profile." But anyway, just so you know, and this was the case with Rubenstein. This is the problem when you had someone holding the resources that really had a part in it. That made the difference. I think if you work as a team, and one of the member of the team controls the money, he creates problems.

*KIENZLE: Did he have a different...*

MOORE: He was the labor attaché.

*SHEA: We had a program it was a task corps. You see the labor attaches at that time worked for AID, and we were the contracting officer for AID programs. That is when I was in Argentina.*

MOORE: Yeah, you were in Argentina, and that is the case in point I am trying to make. I used to say well this is not about Americans. I have excellent relations with Jim. In fact, with Jim, I would let him know ahead of time when I was going to have a program. He went to almost every seminar I had in Argentina. But it was a different atmosphere. It was a different group that we were working with. We didn't have the problem of communism. That was eliminated. There were some rebels there but not organized communism like there was in Uruguay. I wasn't really taking a chance with my life. We had some people that were antagonistic with us, but not to the extent that it was in Uruguay. By the way, he came to my wedding in Uruguay.

*KIENZLE: Jim Shea came to your wedding.*

MOORE: Do you remember that?

*SHEA: I certainly do.*

MOORE: I got married. I went there single, and got married. My children were born there, so that is part of my life. My wife is from Uruguay of Polish decent. She was born in Uruguay. So then from there I was transferred to Central America. That was just before the military takeover in Uruguay. By then when I left I was there for almost five years. The Tupamaros were in control. I didn't have anything to do with it except...

*SHEA: You got married in 1968 or '69?*

MOORE: '69.

*SHEA: Twenty-eight years. Chuck Wheeler was there.*

MOORE: Yeah to the same woman. Chuck Wheeler was there. He was the director of programs in Argentina. By the way, I went as a single man as I said. I got married. My kids were born there. It was a very important part of my life. I saw my life passing me by very closely. My office was ransacked twice. My car was ransacked twice and one was set afire. And different from people from AIFLD. People from AIFLD have some sort of diplomatic immunity. They do have some arrangements with the Embassy.

*KIENZLE: PTTI did not have any...*

MOORE: Not at all. I was there on my own.

*SHEA: At that time too, they were in Argentina, they were murdering the labor leaders. All the time disappearances.*

MOORE: Disappearing. I remember my first assignment to Chile still, that was a democratic government.

*SHEA: That was Frei.*

MOORE: Eduardo Frei. The father was the President, and the postal workers union went on strike. The guy who is now the regional director of the PTTI there was in jail. He was one of the 96 trade union leaders that were in jail at that time.

*SHEA: Do you remember his name, Lou?*

MOORE: Yeah. His name was Eduard Flores Opazo. He was the head of the telecommunications workers that had been helping the postal workers in that union. He came from the driver's side. He was a driver, and he was the head of the union. So they

were all in jail. I went there. In those years the representation mostly had to do with letting them know that this group was not a revolutionary group. They were not communist. They were people who were trying to do things through representation. Then we would show our credentials of the PTTI and all of that and the relationship with the ILO. Normally that would shake those thing out. If they checked they would release him. And they did release him. Eduard never forgot that. He always remembers me. From time to time he sends me a bottle of Pisco.

*SHEA: I go to Chile every now and then.*

MOORE: His office is in Santiago, and he now represents the PTTI for that region.

*KIENZLE: That was in the late 60s then.*

MOORE: That was the late 60s, yeah.

*KIENZLE: Elsio Maganzani was in Brazil in Sao Paulo.*

MOORE: Elsio Maganzani was heading the institute de cultural de \_\_\_\_\_ at the time. ICT.

*SHEA: Then you had Pepe Larko in Quito, Ecuador, and then Jorge Icorsa in Colombia.*

MOORE: Yeah. We had a number of other people working. Steve Keating from CWA that was working in Central America. His office was in San Jose. We had Ron Zirco who stayed with us for only a couple of years. He replaced me when I left Peru and became a \_\_\_\_\_ representative for...

*SHEA: Then you had John Snyder too.*

MOORE: John Snyder but he left early, I believe about 1968 because of the conflict he had with Wally Lady. He had been working with us.

*SHEA: He became a labor attaché.*

MOORE: Yes he did become a labor attaché.

*SHEA: I saw him a few years ago. He lives in Sevastopol.*

MOORE: Sevastopol, California.

*KIENZLE: Would it be correct to say how well you worked with the Embassy and the AIFLD people depended on the personalities rather than some structure?*

MOORE: Yes. I think it is partly the personalities, and second, once I created a reputation for myself, it followed me around. Of course, this was early 1967, and to build early I

was a bad guy. I was a bad guy like you were in Brazil for a while.

*KIENZLE: Were you bad?*

MOORE: He really fell after me because he said he had to fall within a mold. I said not at all. If you are going to do this, you should know that we are going to follow strategies. He didn't like anybody to talk back to him. Then the worst came in 1973.

*KIENZLE: By this time you were in Costa Rica?*

MOORE: No, well, yeah I was in Costa Rica. I was handling all the programs in Central America. There was an earthquake in Nicaragua, and there was an earthquake in Guatemala that killed 6,000 people overnight. You remember that? That was in 1973. I handled all these things. I did pretty well representing PTTI. Then in 1974, Wally could not stay any longer. His emphysema was really getting to him, so they wanted to replace him. They wanted an inter-American representative who did they pick? Me! So, I ended up becoming the inter-American representative as of April, 1974. Except that I was given the title and the responsibility, but by then there were hardly any moneys coming in.

*KIENZLE: I see. Where were you located then?*

MOORE: The office was in Washington I believe at the time. Wally needed medical attention because of his very advanced emphysema. You saw him toward the end; he was almost finished. The office was in Washington. Of course, Wally did not speak Spanish, so he had the accounting office kept in his house so that he would have very easy access to it. He had in the office about 12 secretaries just to translate letters and to translate everything. Everything had to be translated because all the staff except for me were Spanish Speaking and didn't speak English, and he didn't speak Spanish. It was a problem, and then everywhere he went, everywhere he traveled, he always had to travel with interpreters. It was very expensive and costly. When I was appointed inter-American representative, the first thing I had to do was, one, look and see where I was going to get some more resources because the funds had dried up. Two, they had started this union to union program which was resources. I think it started in 1968. So, there was money available for certain types of things, but not for administrative costs and some other types of expenses. When Wally left, that was the end of the funding we were getting before that, and just a coincidence that Joe Byrne also passed away that year. That left me with a very beautiful position, but very little money left to operate with here in Washington. One of my first strategies was to downsize. I didn't need interpreters. Well I needed some to print the publication we had. But, for the most part all the correspondence and direction I was able to do it in Spanish. I didn't have a need for the interpreters. So I tried to find them jobs with the institute and all of that, but I was taken to the NLRB because of that. At that time, when I was taken in front of the NLRB, the people who should have defended me, Joe had just passed away, and the new president, Glen Watts, who became a very good president, didn't want to get too much involved with the international programming. He was afraid to inherit some of the charges of CIA involvement and all of that. Some of this talk that had been going on about funding of the CIA and all of that,

remember the hearings that took place in 1967. There were people who took it upon themselves to let that be known publicly. Especially in the labor movement, there were a number of pamphlets and books that came out. Our members were no exception. They also were touched by this. Glen Watts was presiding for the first time at one of our conventions. We have conventions every year. In 1975, that was already the first time that I was with this new position, Glen was for the first time as president, and the question came on the floor, are you really involved with the CIA? And all this baloney. Glen kind of pulled back, and it was very difficult for me to survive without resources. On the other hand, I knew that we had a responsibility to commit to continue. I moved the office to Central America. I moved it to San Jose because that was not only centrally located but my thinking was, the purpose of this is to serve the developing countries. We don't do all that much in the United States and Canada. Most of the work is dedicated to Latin America. That is what the resources should be. Going from Washington to Buenos Aires is much more expensive. From San Jose, I can go in either direction with half the money. Then of course, administrative costs would be a lot cheaper. I did get approval from districts for meetings that I had to get approval from, The PTTI and all that.

*KIENZLE: That would be in Geneva?*

MOORE: Yes. And the one that reacted negatively was Bill Daugherty and his group that was spreading the rumor that I was anti-American. I didn't want to have the office in the U.S., all of this stuff. I knew that it was going on but they would not tell it to my face. Anyway, I was very successful in the program part. In every country in Latin America, we had affiliates. That is on the record. When I left in 1980, in every country of Latin America, we had unions in each one of the sectors that we represented. We have lost some since, and I don't know that we will ever gain them back. But, just to tell you that as far as the work that I was sent to do, I was successful. I did not wave the U.S. flag. I made sure that I never denied that I am an American, but I refused to accept blame for things like, for example, did I decide that we are going to Vietnam? No. So, don't talk to me about that. This was my attitude and it was successful. People saw me for what I was, a labor person. I was not out to sell U.S. foreign policy or anything like that, even though in many cases they went hand in hand. Then of course, the biggest objective was to organize independent democratic unions, and at that I was very successful.

*KIENZLE: Your funding came from PTTI in Geneva?*

MOORE: Yeah that was probably the biggest part of the problem. Up until then the resources had come by way of my union to the inter-American operation through a bank that was set up in New York.

*KIENZLE: From the CIA or...*

MOORE: I don't know the source, but it came from the U.S. It was channeled through the proper channels. By the time Wally got it in Panama or either Washington or Peru, that money had already gone from a foundation, I think it was called the Morgan foundation, and then there were others that provided resources. I don't know where they got the

money, but I know the money was available.

*KIENZLE: When Wally was in Peru did you say?*

MOORE: Yes, Wally was in Peru while I was in Uruguay. When I came to replace him, the office was in Washington. He had moved the office to Washington because of his illness. I think if you look at the sequence and how these things happen, there were very little choices that we had. We either had to work together or sink together. You may recall that in those years, different companies supported this view of working together. They provided resources. The Peter Graces.

*KIENZLE: Yeah originally AIFLD had businesses...*

MOORE: People on the board, yeah. There were representatives of some of these multinational corporations that had turned to be so anti-labor in recent times. It was a great period of a tremendous amount of work. When I became inter-American representative, the differences with Bill Daugherty became even more visible. One of the first things I had to do is hold the inter-American congress. It was due, but Wally had not been able to hold it because of difficulties of strategizing and getting it going because of his illness, so that was my commitment to have it before the end of 1974. I was holding that conference in Quito, Ecuador in 1974, and you recall the issue of the time was the treaty with Panama for the Panama Canal. That became an issue; everybody was talking about that.

*KIENZLE: Especially during the Carter administration.*

MOORE: That is right. That was even before, you see the AFL-CIO was on record of supporting the idea of re negotiating the contract understanding that the U.S. was not the owner of that, but Panama was, and that Panama had the right to negotiate with the U.S. Bill Daugherty really used that to fire at me because of my background, because my mother had been born in that part of the hemisphere. In fact, she still lives there in Panama. She is an old lady now. But looking in hindsight, I think that was the right thing to do. I was trying to represent not American interest per se, but the interests of a democratic organization. Really what they were asking was to re-negotiate the agreement.

*SHEA: Clyde Wood passed away huh?*

MOORE: Yeah, Clyde Wood passed away.

*SHEA: He was a genuine worker.*

MOORE: That is what I am telling you. If he had gone to a real trade union organization, he would have done wonderful, but then he was representing the AIFLD as the number two man in Uruguay. He saw many things that could be done and should be done, but he could not do it because he was the number two man.

*SHEA: Was he working there with Jack Goodwin?*

MOORE: Yeah, he was under Jack; that was part of the problem. He worked there with Jack and that was part of the problem. Jack had a way about doing things that Dutch did not agree.

*KIENZLE: You moved your office then from Washington to San Jose in 1976. How long were you then?*

MOORE: Until 1980.

*KIENZLE: You were describing some of the difficulties of dealing with AIFLD and Bill Daugherty. Were you able to resolve any of those?*

MOORE: No because, you know, the problem was when I inherited the job from Wally, I didn't know that I was not going to have any resources. I had to depend for moneys coming from Europe, before they never had to do. So there was a resentment from the Europeans that they now had to pump money into the inter-American region. That is one. Second, Wally had been doing great when there was all kinds of money flowing in. He was able to move bodies around and all of that. All of a sudden, here comes Lou Moore who could not do it. People thought it was part of my inefficiency. When they took me to the NLRB, you know the employees that I had to downsize. I was not going to keep people on that I had no reason to have. I could not justify it. I was really being squeezed for money. Coincidence. Remember that Al Shanker came became president of the AFT in 1974. Up until 1974, you may recall we were doing the work for the teachers. When Al Shanker became president, the head of the IFFTU, the International Federation of Free Trade Unions, had written me a letter as inter-American representative saying Lou Moore, thank you for your help, but no thank you. We don't want you to help us with the teachers any more. They were not trying to be affiliated with the PTTI, we were doing this for them.

*KIENZLE: On contract?*

MOORE: Part of the money that came was from a contract with AIFL, but it still was being run, there was someone by the name of Denise Thery.

*SHEA: Oh, I remember very well.*

MOORE: She worked very well with Bill. I got in the way, and I said sorry, I cannot run this program because the teachers don't want it, and I am not going to have the conflict between the two trade secretariats. Bill Daugherty threw me out of the office.

*SHEA: She was a native of France.*

MOORE: Of Brussels.

*SHEA: Oh Belgium, Okay.*

MOORE: So as you can see, it was an uphill road all the way. So the incident with the approval of a resolution for the United States to renew talks with Panama with a view to a new agreement. Bill Daugherty almost fumed.

*KIENZLE: This was at the PTTI regional congress.*

MOORE: In Quito, Ecuador in October, 1974. Bill was absolutely beside himself because of anger at me. He said, "I can't believe you are not an American." Of course he not only did that, but he went around talking to other people downplaying me. So the relationship with Bill was not all that good in those years, and you know what that meant. He is the guy that held the purse strings for the money. The union to union program which we had, became less and less favorable to PTTI. Pretty soon it became a matter of Bill Daugherty who had a great relationship with Stefan Wyzinski, to convince Stefan that he had to get rid of me. Of course, in 1980, it became so unbearable that I resigned.

*KIENZLE: Could you tell us who Stefan was?*

MOORE: Stefan Wyzinski was the general secretary of the PTTI. He was Polish born. By the way, he spoke at the convention.

*SHEA: I was there. He spoke very well.*

MOORE: Stefan is Polish. As a result of the war he ended up studying in Great Britain. When he finished his training in one of the schools, he went to work for the UCW which is one of the affiliates of the PTTI in Great Britain as a research person and ended up being assistant general secretary of the ICFTU first, and then was tapped for the PTTI. He became the general secretary of the PTTI the same year that I went to work for the PTTI.

*SHEA: Who was the guy before him then?*

MOORE: That was someone by the name of Klaus Stengher from Germany.

*KIENZLE: What kinds of instructions did you get from the Geneva office from the PTTI leadership?*

MOORE: This is interesting that you ask, because when we had all these resources, we didn't have any money coming from Europe. All of the money was generated in this country. It came mostly from the U.S. The inter-American operation was almost run entirely independent of the PTTI. We were part of PTTI, but we maintained a great deal of independence, all of the programs. There were things that were passed on to the executive committee. Joe Byrne was on the executive committee. Stu Fielding was the president of the American Postal Workers Union and had been a very close ally and

supporter of the PTTI. He was also a member of the executive committee. There was not a big problem because Stefan was very accepting of the fact that if we were doing the work in Latin America that he was not going to get his hands in it. But, once Bill started to heat his head up about these problems with Lou Moore, Stefan started to ask for reports, started asking for financial reports and all of that. I had no problem with that. I was not hiding it because of me, but there were some things I could not tell him about. Then I became kind of connected with, and I didn't mind that. There were things that were coming down in the form of guidance from the European office that were taking away our projection that we had in the past toward Latin America. Definitely Stefan was a great general secretary, but he was European. He had a tremendous concern, something that he was never able to actually confirm, but he was concerned that maybe there was in the operation in Latin America excessive input from the U.S. State Department and even some of the secret agencies. I'm not sure that even today a guy with that kind of a background and that type of a position, that he would not know or maybe even be connected with one of the agencies from Great Britain. This guy was a real true democratic guy. I don't doubt that. That doesn't mean he was not concerned about some of the rumors that were going around here, you know in the country about PTTI. We were mentioned in several books about receiving resources from , and in 1967 when the Senate hearings took place, it was clear there were some moneys that were going to...

*SHEA: Yeah, for example how were your relations with the other trade secretariats like for example the Transworld workers with Jacko Taylor?*

MOORE: Our relationship with them was excellent. I had a very good relationship. In fact one of the problems when I came back to Washington was I tried to, you see they used to keep us all separate. There were eight separate programs. One was with the textile workers; one was with the machinists, one was with Jacko Taylor. One was with the IFCW; one was with us. So, all of these were kept separately, and we could never see each other except at maybe a social function. My suggestion was hey we are doing the same job; we are working in the same atmosphere. Let's share a lot of the information. Bill Daugherty did not want that. So I promoted a meeting where there were people like Jacko Taylor and do you remember Gerry O'Keefe from the.. Elmer Forster. All of these people really got together. Bill really tore into me and said, at the time my office was in the same building as Bill. It was our building you know. In my capacity as PTTI representative, Bill just abused me right and left. There was nothing I could do.

*KIENZLE: Just let me make sure that I have this clear. The representatives from the different trade secretariats in the field didn't have contact with one another when they were operating parallel programs in the same country.*

MOORE: There were some instances, for example after 1965 in the Dominican Republic, I was responsible for the region at the time. We did rent a house where he had Orit, ourselves, Fiat and Otero. So the four of us, we always had someone there to pilot the activities. There was money running around. Do you remember what happened after the marines left? That country was left in shambles in 1965. Then, of course, we were trying to pick up the pieces, why, because otherwise there was anarchy. We wanted to work

together, and we did work very effectively. When it came for us to compare notes; we had a specific separate programming. We did not want to exchange information; there was no program for that. I asked why can't we meet at least once a month and share information. We know some people; they know some people. We would be able to help each other. It was not welcome at all.

*KIENZLE: There were no joint programs in areas like training or grievance processing?*

MOORE: Well, there were the ones later on when they established the mini-center, and they started to have these programs from Latin America to bring people from all different sectors. That was totally independent from us. We had nothing to do with the selection of the people; we had nothing to do with the final outcome because these people would come independently and be trained by the institute. Some was very good training. It had to depend on the people like Grugendorf and Marrow, some that were sensitive about this and they would contact us. All of us had the same complaint. If you had a chance to talk to Ben Chairman or you had a chance to talk to Jack Looney from the Steelworkers. He is also retired. You will find that we all had this same serious problem. Oh, by the way, I hope you have a chance to talk to you mentioned from the UFCW, Elmer Foster. He is in Port Royal. He is out of touch a little bit now, but he still can do a pretty good job. You should before it is too late. It is important, there is a reason.

*SHEA: Who was the guy from the Steelworkers?*

MOORE: That was Jack Looney. You thought you knew them all eh? Jack didn't do any work in Latin America because he actually maintained his position as vice president of the Steelworkers.

*KIENZLE: Anyhow, continue with your thought.*

MOORE: Yeah. My thought is that for some reason, I had the feeling there was an intention to keep us separate. The signals were very clear, and then of course, we knew that if you exceeded your boundaries, you were only reflecting the amount of money you got. By the time I got back in 1980, there was very little money going into the inter-American region. I was doing some things that even today they are not doing. For example, I was doing comparative studies of contracts from country to country, comparative studies of the legal framework. This is something that they have not done even today. This is a real shame.

*KIENZLE: Might they in AIFLD though?*

MOORE: Well, AIFLD or the trade secretariats or anybody, and really this is a shame because I think this is the key to improvement, to find out what is happening in the legal framework and then try to change that framework so unions have more space, but that is not happening.

*KIENZLE: Was Oris doing any of this comparative work?*

MOORE: I don't think so. Oris had had some very serious problems with funding as well as you know. I think that we have to have an Orit.

*SHEA: How about Stefan Torres, the Congressman from LA? He was working on Latin America too.*

MOORE: I never had contact with him.

*SHEA: Or Ed Benedict?*

MOORE: I had contact with him after he came back to the States.

*KIENZLE: It is fascinating that there was so little cooperation and so much compartmentalization. Was there ever an explanation given to you for the reasons?*

MOORE: No, I think that the reason mostly was there were some unions that were getting more than others. I guess in the eyes of those who examine the results of the programs and all of that, I don't know, maybe I was getting more than the others. Regardless of that, I think the strategy should have been to bring us together, to work together, to have a common objective, and then justify why some get more than others. Maybe some needed more than others depending on what sector you were in. I think that we have to recognize that. It didn't work that way. Often you would find that we always needed more money. That was for sure.

*KIENZLE: You could always use more money.*

MOORE: There was always more work than money, and it wasn't that people just wanted the money to put in their pockets. It was money to do programming, but we did cooperate with each other anyway. Any time I had a function like a congress or a regional meeting, I would invite people that I thought would be close by or should attend. The thing is much more evident here in Washington because all of us were here. When we had the Washington assignment, we could not communicate with one another. We were almost kept from doing so.

*KIENZLE: Did you ever make your peace with Bill Daugherty?*

MOORE: Off and on yes. Right now he thinks we are great friends. That doesn't mean we didn't have some serious problems. Another very serious problem that I had, don't forget that as a representative of a trade secretariat, I am serving not just U.S. affiliates. I am serving the world community. The Ferdy Kever Foundation offered some support when the head of the PTTI was the head of the Postal Workers Union in Germany. Ernst Bright.

*KIENZLE: The name is familiar.*

MOORE: Very open hearted and all. He knew that I was having all these programs and said, "Lou, don't worry. I can get you money. All you need to do is present receipts." I said, "Fine." So one of the things I did, I pulled together a group of Latin American trade union leaders in 1978, and took them to Germany to expose them to the German industrial style of management and all of that. Bill Daugherty wrote letters to everybody saying I was so... And the worst is that we had some leaders of my union that were influential that he was having access to and really undermining my credibility and causing a lot of problems. I still live with some of those problems. Anyway when I came back in 1980.

*KIENZLE: What did you do?*

MOORE: I started this department, you know, the international department of the CWA for the first time because there was no one else left from my union out there. You see, Estefan did not think about that.

*KIENZLE: There had not been an international department before?*

MOORE: No, never an international department. We were doing the work through the PTTI. So now that I was coming back and there would not be another American, Glen decided that when he asked me to come back it was in process already I knew that I was going to leave PTTI, and then I would start this department. Regretfully when I came back to start the department and I had my budget and all of that, I knew this, that I was still going to have to work through the PTTI with the same people that I had been working before. Then things got very violent in Central America in Nicaragua and El Salvador and all of that. I never did have any policy differences with Bill. What I did not go into is strategies that I thought would be negative for us. I think it is a waste of money and time to get into something that has already failed. Anyway in Nicaragua and El Salvador, he saw the support that I exerted to the forces of the people he had working there. I recognized his power and I recognized his ability and all that. He was not always right. He was wrong on many occasions.

*KIENZLE: These were policy differences then.*

MOORE: Policy differences. For example, the fact that I did have a program with the \_\_\_\_\_. For him that was a terrible thing to do. He made it look like I was selling my soul to the Germans. This is the kind of attitude he took with some of the people. We lost some great talent because of that. We lost Enrico Ramos who was an excellent representative for AIFLD. A real labor guy. He came back; he couldn't take it. Another guy by the name of Bobolio who was working in Chile, a real luxury working in this kind of work, representing workers, and very able.

*KIENZLE: He was with AIFLD?*

MOORE: Yeah.. He couldn't take it. At some point he just said he cannot work with that guy. Bill held the power, and he wanted people to know that he was running things. I

know that you have a good relationship with him. I have a good relationship with him also. If he hadn't existed, he would have to be created. I think we could have gone a lot better and have had a lot more success if the distribution of power had been different, and the resources had been spread out through a body that did not have such a vision of his role in things. I think that only those who had confrontations with Bill could tell you that because I think he did some very fine work in some areas, but also some very bad work in some others. I think that as negative also, some of the things under his direction some of the people did like to flash money around. I think that is the wrong policy. I showed programs. I showed the ability to carry out programs to do certain things, education, moving bodies around to organize, all of these things that require money. It is the same thing. You don't flash the money around, and you don't exert power with it. Once you do, I think that becomes a problem.

*KIENZLE: In other words, you spend it discretely behind the scenes, but you don't show it to show power.*

MOORE: Exactly. Make things possible, you see, but not in exchange for loyalty, here is the money. That is the wrong approach. But that is all in the past. I think that...

*SHEA: Yeah, I'll say that. You know I really had my differences with him, my God.*

MOORE: But you see, I am not the only one in this. You know what is happening right now.

*SHEA: I don't think he holds a grudge though.*

MOORE: Well that is the problem; he forgets, and he should not. If he didn't forget, he would not make those same mistakes again. Right now, you find that the atmosphere in the international department of the AFL-CIO is they hate Bill Daugherty which I don't. I don't hate Bill Daugherty. I recognize that he did some wonderful things, but he also did some bad things and some of those bad things were done with me. And of course the ones that were personal, when I married my wife, you know because she was a foreigner, it was running around my union that I had gone native. To me that was the greatest asset I had, to speak the language as a native and to be able to mingle with the people. To successfully organize by having a message that I could convey. Right now, my relationship with the union in Mexico is one because of that. They trust me, which you know is something unusual for Mexicans to trust an American. You know that is part of the problem; that is true. Why, too many years of being on the border and the feeling of exploitation that the Spaniards had with them for 300 years and then continued by the multi-nationals protected by their relationship with the Embassy. This is what the common people talk about. This is something Bill took that wrong. One day he and I were having some drinks at the steak house on M and Pennsylvania, Blackies [since closed]. We used to go and hang out and eat and drink wine there. One night he and I and others were there and he was having a few and I was having a few. He said, "Are you looking for my job?" I said, "Bill, get off of this. Where did you get this?" He had just become the director of the AIFLD. He always thought that I had supported the other guy

that he had run against, Morris Paladino.

*KIENZLE: Shall we turn then to your work after you came back in 1980 and the kinds of things you did here in the CWA international department?*

MOORE: Well, when I came back, of course, in 1980 it was clear that some of the problems that we had in the past with identification in Latin America were less of a problem. Most of the countries were starting to go democratic. There were unions in almost every country. My role here became more worldwide rather than just Latin America. I had experience in many because of meetings I had attended. As PTTI representative I always attended executive committee meetings that were held someplace else in other parts of the world. I had met many trade union leaders around the world, some of them involved in some of the most important decisions taken since 1965 in terms of the international to the PTTI. Glen gave me the job and said go for it. He never got in my way. He would come and talk with me and find out what I was doing. We complemented each other. He has always been a great gentleman, you probably know that. He was not Joe Byrne in terms of international involvement, but he was a great gentleman, but he didn't want to be maligned by getting involved with what Joe had been involved with. You know, the Tubcoats. Anyway, I was able to establish a very close relationship with the Germans and the Japanese and the British with the changed programs which take a lot more time and a lot more money but are necessary especially looking at the multi-nationalist movement. We developed relationships with the Japanese, for example, which proved very fruitful in 1989 when we had the strike in NYNEX. Sixty thousand of our members were out on strike and 20 of the IBEW. We were almost going up to here in debt where all of our buildings had been put in for loans. Our loans were getting to be very expensive. The Japanese loaned us 16.5 million dollars with only a 5% interest, no service on the loan and no guarantee. We paid it back already, but just to show you how that relationship had been built up. I would be one of the few people that really believes in the international concept. I don't know that we can succeed in the world without having a real clear understanding of what are people's rights. I think that my role has been to project the image of CWA as a moderate union and provide input for other unions to learn our strategies. I provide resources by putting them in contact with information that we have in our research department or information on organizing. Different sources that we have. As you know, we are a strong union and have a number of strategies that are very good. I have emphasized an exchange of visitors. I have emphasized exchange of unions and leadership of different unions to us, and leadership of my union especially from different regions to visit different unions. Soon after I came back, we went to Rithera in 1981, and that is when the peace agreement was reached. That was when Menachem Begin and Sadat signed the agreement. Well, Glen sat in at some of those meetings because Carter was the President at the time. He was very close to Carter. Mr. Sadat allowed for the unions to become part of the international movement. This affiliate from the WCFTU didn't waste any time going out there promoting this relationship. They became affiliated with the PTTI. That is about the time when I also as part of my input developed the program that ultimately ended up with the building that we have in East Jerusalem aimed at helping...

*KIENZLE: Training center.*

*SHEA: Who was your representative? We were both in Israel.*

MOORE: Did you see the center in East Jerusalem? It is the Glen Watts center.

*KIENZLE: I'm sure I did.*

MOORE: Yeah, I have pamphlets here.

*SHEA: Who was the guy in Jerusalem, I mean \_\_\_\_\_?*

MOORE: Simon Souvale.

*SHEA: I was there from '81-'82.*

MOORE: Oh no, that was Nissan Harpas was the head in Jerusalem. That is the guy we started the program with. He is now a member of the city council. He was succeeded by Simon Sourale. He is a very nice young man. He is heading the Jerusalem council of the\_\_\_\_\_.

So, most of my work now is I have a budget that I present, and most of the money is CWA money. But with this I am supposed to generate resources for the different regions of the PTTI. I respond to all of the calls for solidarity. I am the person who actually maintains contact with all the unions around the world and with the institutes and the associations and all of that. I do a number of other things. When I came back, I was asked to take over the Joe Byrne Foundation and also the Ray Hackney Foundation. Later on with so many things that I had, I was asked if I wanted to release that foundation, and that is how come I tossed them out.

*SHEA: How about Poland?*

MOORE: In the early 80s there was no contact with Poland except what we could do underground. The KOR was in existence. Stefan Wyzinski having a Polish background, we were very well positioned to help, so we were able to get resources. If you met me in the 80s, I was always wearing a Solidarity pin. I really believed that they were going to succeed. We promoted resources through the CWA and then I pulled them together and through the PTTI and were able to get them to Poland. We supported the effort very closely. I went to Poland as a tourist bringing resources and met with some of the underground people there.

*KIENZLE: What was the approximate size of the CWA international budget?*

MOORE: The moneys that are allocated for me to develop programs aside from salaries and benefits and all of that, this is moneys that I use, flexible as well, about a quarter of a million dollars. That in addition to a half a million dollars we pay in dues to PTTI and

another hundred thousand we pay to the public service international. We are also affiliated with the IMF. We pay dues for 20,000 members. So, I am actually very active with those trade secretariats. I am still very active with the PTTI. They call on me whenever they have a seminar. I seem to be a kind of a jack of all trades. I have done everything in the union. I actually came from the rank and file and I know it from the ground up.

*KIENZLE: Do you recruit CWA people to work at some of the seminars overseas?*

MOORE: Most of the time I do that. If someone is holding some sort of a program, I try to find out what kind of a program they want and what the outcome they want, and then I see if they should have a regional organizer for example if that is the case or a writer. We have all the resources you could imagine, we have them. We probably have the most, and this is something we have done well. The CWA has spent good money and good people. We have excellent research people, we have excellent organizers, excellent writers. Everything we have hired, we pay good money. Amazing after all these years, we are still going strong.

*KIENZLE: CWA has language qualified people that you can call on?*

MOORE: I do that from time to time. Not so much anymore, but what I do about once a year, I send out a form to the districts. Remember we have nine districts spread geographically where the regional companies operate. Those are headed by a vice president who is in charge of staff. All of that is part of the headquarters structure. I reach out there, and I send this form because we have such a turnover of local officers, staff or even members that have certain skills. For example, if I am going to send someone to Romania to do organizing, I don't need to send an international organizer because it is just completely out of context. I need to send someone from local with this type of local qualities and local understanding of how to grow from within. All these things I do just by interacting.

*SHEA: Do you find a Romanian speaker?*

MOORE: Not Romanian so much. You know Romanians did not move so much in the labor movement. Most of them were intellectuals who got out.

*SHEA: You can certainly get by with Spanish with them.*

MOORE: Yes. I found that out. Do you know what happened? I took an organizer from California, a woman by the name of Vera Melerites, who is of Mexican background. She is a staff representative in the district 9 office in San Francisco. She speaks Spanish. I sent her to an assignment in Bolivia, and ultimately she went to Argentina. I knew that she is an older woman, but very well qualified. When I was going to Romania, I took her with me. Then as you know, there was still a certain degree of danger and concern. I went to the \_\_\_\_\_ building, and the interpreter, they didn't have any in. The people that were waiting for the interpreter, they would not let them know, so she was just kept out.

One of the people that was working in the union was a Cuban that had gone to Romania for training and stayed. We communicated through him; he was the interpreter. Then we found out that a lot of the terminology of course has a lot of Roman.

*SHEA: I would say that I met at ICFTU meetings especially in Spain and Italy, I met Romanians and I could get by on either Italian or Spanish.*

MOORE: Yes, because of the Latin radicals and the Roman roots.

*KIENZLE: You mentioned that both Joe Byrne and Glen Watts were active. What about Morton Barr? Was he equally active?*

MOORE: Well, Morton was a vice president in district 1. New York is the more liberal part of the country. Most of the questions that would come from the floor to question policy and to question involvement in all of these things would be from district one. Mort is an exception. He is what we would call a liberal Jew from New York. Dearly. He is a very great guy; does great work, but he doesn't have, he is not a Joe Byrne on this international organization. You have to separate. This guy is excellent. He can keep an audience in control for hours. He is interesting to listen to, he is fascinating, and his stories that he tell, and he is an excellent trade union leader. Everybody loves him.

*KIENZLE: Well Morton Barr was active in Eastern Israel when I was there.*

MOORE: Well, that is his Jewish background. It is all right that it is so, but let me tell you where it puts a little bind. Do the workers in Israel need more support than the workers in Burma? The answer is no. He has been to Israel 30 times; he has never been to Burma. This is where I come from. You see, our role in international affairs as workers representatives I think has to be to try to defend trade union rights. Starting from the premise that there where trade union rights are being violated, it only weakens our own trade union rights. So, my insistence that we should dedicate as much effort and time and resources to try to eradicate any violation of trade union rights.

*SHEA: Who do you have in Australia, by the way?*

MOORE: We have a very good leader there. You don't know him because he is new, Watson. Now the two unions merged. In fact the postal and telecommunications plus the paper workers merged. They have one union. Paul Watson is the head. He is a young man, 32 or 33 years old, very intelligent. He is from the Labour Party, but trade unionist. He actually came from the rank and file and went up the ranks making much more out of that union than it was before. Before, as you remember, it was more pro Labour Party type union within the context of the ...

*SHEA: Years ago they had a guy when I was there whose name was George Slater.*

MOORE: George Slater, wonderful guy. You know he is still alive; he is still doing well. He had an operation on his leg. He was a very good friend of mine because he was a

member of the executive board of PTTI. We met in the most incredible places. He loved to walk, and I loved to walk as well. So, he and I and Ruben Ben Amin, you may have met Ruben Ben Amin from Israel. He was the head of the public service. He passed away. He died in 1993; we were attending a world congress in Lisbon, and he died then.

*SHEA: Slater lost a leg?*

MOORE: Yeah they had to amputate because he had cancer on one of the legs. He used to love to walk. We would end up in a place like Ouagadougou in Upper Volta and walk our heads off. Everywhere we were he just walked.

*SHEA: He was in the Australian armed forces in New Guinea. We became great friends.*

MOORE: I am sure you got to be good friends with Mr. Mickey as well. He was a great guy. He is retired. He is still alive, and living in Melbourne.

*KIENZLE: One area I would like to get you to comment on. Has CWA been active in submitting petitions on the GSP process for worker rights issues?*

MOORE: The most we have done on that is to support the efforts of the AFL-CIO. You can see the reason for that. One I was not too happy about working with the, what is this group that is working with the GSP? With the AFL-CIO, yes, but not with some of these other groups that are going around.

*KIENZLE: The workers education fund?*

MOORE: I think one is called that way. It also has some religious people in it.

*KIENZLE: Anyhow you didn't like the process?*

MOORE: No. I like to participate in something that I can have some form of input. I don't mean control. In other words, I am a member for example of the North American community part of the MPA, NPA, the National Planning Association. Most of them are management types, think tank types, Canadians, Mexicans and Americans. They want to pass a resolution about Cuba. Now, I was there to express my point of view to moderate that resolution. I think that is what I want. If I am going to participate in something, that I can moderate, that I can at least express our point of view as labor people. The reason of course in Cuba is that we do have a lot of members that are Cubans. In fact we have a lot of local presidents in the Florida area. To us it is not just a political thing or ideological. This is members of our constituency that we have to be respectful of. I cannot just engage in any kind of resolution.

*KIENZLE: What would be the position on Cuba?*

MOORE: We would like to see an opening in Cuba, but we would like to see respect for trade union rights before anything takes place.

*KIENZLE: Would the GSP process...*

MOORE: The GSP process, we support the AFL-CIO on that, and we have done anything they asked us to, write any letters they need written or to form part of delegations. We are always very supportive of everything they do about GST. But we have not used it ourselves. What we are using are the side agreements of NAFTA. That we have used twice now. We used it in the case of Sprint which as you know is a national communications union. Sprint had a facility in San Francisco providing service to most of Latin Americans called in Spanish La \_\_\_\_\_. You could make phone calls mainly to Mexico and South America. They did not allow to organize, so we tried to organize it. Then, of course, the facility was closed. The company said if you try to organize it, we will close the facility. We took it to the NLRB. The NLRB found 50 violations of labor rights.

*SHEA: You say there were 50 violations.*

MOORE: That is in Sprint. In Sprint they found 50 violations of trade union rights within the National Labor Relations Act. That was findings by our own courts, you know, labor courts. The company has appealed, but in the meantime, we went ahead and filed, we asked our counterpart Mexican union to file a complaint. We had a hearing in San Francisco and followed the whole process. Again that finding showed and forced the company to re-open the facility, to re-hire the workers, and to pay them back pay with interest.

*KIENZLE: This facility was in San Francisco.*

MOORE: In San Francisco. It hired about 177 people. Just to show you we are using the system for that. The latest we have, we have a hearing next week on the 18th. Your son is involved. It is a complaint about something that is very prevalent in Mexico, the sweetheart contract. The CTM in cahoots with the government. The \_\_\_\_\_ de Mexico. Mr. Fidel Valesquez a big confederation in cahoots with the government and the different institutions like the state legal framework and the cities and all of that kind of a structure. You know. We didn't have a legal way of presenting a case for recognition of a union and all of that. When you do that, when you go and try to register a union, they tell you there is already a union in existence that belongs to the CTN.

*SHEA: Jimmy has been telling me about that case.*

*KIENZLE: The new union would be frozen out then. They only allow one union in one area.*

MOORE: That is correct. That is frozen out, but what they do is they very quickly put together a contract, not a contract, they put together a statute and they claim that union, what they do is copy any other contract and put that title you know, for the company that applies. That keeps all the unions out. Regardless of how good the law is, they are

implementing a drone. So then we file a complaint.

*SHEA: Is Barr going to testify?*

MOORE: On the 18th. What testification from our part is just to supplement, because actually the meat of the thing is going to come from the lawyer that did the examination of the case in Mexico, and the workers that were actually affected. You know, there was a woman that was heading the union, trying to organize, and she was actually physically attacked. I know; I went and interviewed them; I met with them. I had a meeting in Mexico City so that they would feel free of the environment. We wanted to follow the case to the point where you can expose this. This would be a tremendous accomplishment in terms of clearing something that was the root of a lot of problems in Mexico. You know, the biggest problem in Mexico is the disparity, the poverty that exists there because the poor people cannot access wealth because they do not have any unions that represent the interests of the workers. The rate increases are determined by the government in cahoots with the..

*SHEA: Stark differences between the rich and the poor there.*

MOORE: Yeah, that is what I tell everybody. If you had been in 1951 like I was. I went to Mexico the first time in 1951. It was a smaller city; it was clean; it was wonderful; it was marvelous, and maybe the CTM was doing the right work at the time. As time went on, you know, those people that went into power became protective of their own positions.

*SHEA: Fidel Valesquez has been in power I can tell you how long because he came in power the year I was born. I am 73.*

MOORE: He has been there since.

*SHEA: He is 98 now isn't he?*

MOORE: No, last I heard he is about 94. Maybe closer to 98. Anyway, I understand that this time he is very sick, that he is really having troubles and he is in and out of the hospital. But that is not going to change because Mr. Fidel goes. Remember you have all of the major unions, the leadership of those unions are members of the Bree in a government capacity or members of Parliament or Senators or something. They don't want to lose power.; they don't want to give it up. Until that happens and there is a free exercise of democracy in the country, the workers are not going to have a decent income. Therefore that income is never going to get into, you are going to have some movement, but not enough for a free independent society. That will be a closed society until that happens. You know if they allow for more freedom of political movement, if they control the unions, there will not be movement of the economy. I think that is one of the biggest problems. You have an emerging new class of people besides the technical people that are finishing university and becoming technicians. They can make a little more money through their activity, and some professionals are coming up, but not in the way that it

should be. The rich there is very wealthy behind high walls, protected with machine guns. You haven't been in Mexico recently. I tell you, it would hurt you. It is really painful because it is just incredible.

*SHEA: The last time I was in Mexico was for an Orit meeting in 1970.*

MOORE: 1970. I tell you, you would not recognize it the way it has grown.

Now in appearance, if you don't care for the social aspect of it, you see a city with nice beautiful buildings. The architecture is very nice, very lovely, but the resources. There are more poor people now than there ever were there. There are statistics not provided by us but by other sources that say that 2/3 of the population have never used a telephone. What does that tell you. We don't have any job security in an environment like that. We want people to use the telephone so that we can sell what we produce.

*KIENZLE: Does your union see NAFTA as a plus?*

MOORE: Not as it was done. Personally I think it was a lost opportunity. I think our government could have done a lot more to press the forces of being in Mexico to some commitments and some changes in the legal framework to open up their society in exchange for this agreement. That would have been something I think I could have accepted. If you are in a manufacturing area like textiles and shoes and all these other manufacturing, definitely it was a negative. I mean we lost jobs. The only motivation if you go anywhere along the border, you are going to see all these poor people working for peanuts.

I was 65 last year. My problem is that this is a program that is not readily understood by everybody. To some in the union, it means an expense. To others it means an investment. I am one of those who sees an investment. I don't think that in any way you can find the kind of relationship we have with unions around the world. That is something you cannot build overnight. There really is a great close relationship with mutual respect. This is expensive and difficult, and I am doing it by myself with Angie, who is a great help.

*KIENZLE: So the international department here is two people.*

MOORE: Yes, two people. I am so much on the road that if she didn't pin things down. Actually I am in contact with her all the time, but she is excellent, and she really believes in what she is doing.

*KIENZLE: Do you think there is a sense of international solidarity within the rank and file of union members here in America, more specifically the CWA rank and file?*

MOORE: You know, talking from my union, I think yes. The union is very sensitive to special issues of trade union rights. I feel well protected in intervening in all of those lines. Where I think we run into trouble is those who are responsible for resources and assignments, to respond to the membership, they want to be able to not talk about

deficits; they want to talk about surpluses, and that is not always possible. So they cut. Just to give you an example, The SPBC, that is the Strategic Planning and Budget Committee now has three new members that were just elected last year. Those are people who just came on the board, and they were concerned about how much money we are paying out in dues so they cut out participation with the PSI. Now I am working to get it back reinstated. The PSI is Public Service International.

*KIENZLE: The PSI is the successor to the PTTI.*

MOORE: No the PTTI continues to be in Europe.

*KIENZLE: So you are affiliated with more than one secretariat?*

MOORE: Three: PSI, PTTI and IMF. So, I would say that because of the type of industry that we are in, because we were sensitized early in the 60's and 70's and almost all of our equipment has moved away. We were not able to do anything about that because at the time we had a regulated monopoly, you know. They are very sensitive to international involvement. But, I don't know about the other unions. I even sense some anger and displeasure with the fact that the leadership didn't take more action in terms of the NAFTA agreement.

*KIENZLE: In your union?*

MOORE: No, not in my union but the automobile workers are still very angry; the textile workers are still very angry and they take on the democratic party. I don't think there was very much more that they could have done because we live in a democratic system. The forces that were pushing that were far stronger than ours were. The proof is that it came in the vote. We had some very strong people on our side. You can count on, Gephardt and Bonior. The others were supportive but didn't actually put out too much. You had some people that spoke very nicely like Hollings and others that believe that something else should have been done, but something had to be done. Personally I believe that we all have to come together. All of the countries have to have some kind of understanding. I am not one who would be so concerned about having a protective agreement, something that would say well, you do this; we will do that. It keeps some balance on that, not just one sided.

*KIENZLE: You want more balance?*

MOORE: Yeah I would want more balance, and I would want more standardization of the standard of living because the working conditions can also be horrible.

*KIENZLE: Your workers would be relatively well off wouldn't they as in comparison with other unions.*

MOORE: Here in the States?

*KIENZLE: Well communications workers, I don't know, correct me if I am wrong, but I would think they would be earning a higher salary on the average than other unionized workers, and that they would be positioned in a global economy in a relatively favorable way.*

MOORE: That is true if you look at them without looking at some of the very important side effects of some of this process. The process of privatization is creating a tremendous amount of anxiety. That anxiety is mostly to those who now enjoy some sense of permanency and job security. Their world is being turned around. Those who never had a job like that would not miss it all that much like those who did have it. By 1998, almost every country of Latin America has opened up to competition. That is going to be a very crucial year in terms of the workers in the telecommunications industry. Also, we will be negotiating contracts with every company in the U.S. I think this global economy strategy on the side of the company will drive us crazy in achieving a good contract. I believe that it is true that by the most part, the telecommunication services, the telephone services in particular, whether it is private or public, has been always a profitable service. We are concerned about providing new jobs, providing more job security for those who are now working, providing a strategy through training and retraining and career counseling, strategies that would allow the company to succeed but also the workers to have peace of mind knowing that they can do their work and support your family. All of this is part of the whole, and it would vary from country to country. That is where we need to be much more involved because some of these multi-nationalists are not easier to deal with but I think are more sensitive to the needs of the workers and others. We should be very active in trying to alert not only the workers but the unions and the governments and those who have power about the wisdom of working with companies that are more sensitive to social needs. Those that are predators, who go to countries to exploit, whenever things don't go well for them they just go someplace else. In that sense, that is what is showing right now. There are companies out there that are just for profit, and the more profit the better. They don't care what they do in those countries.

*KIENZLE: Is PTTI able to focus attention on those companies that are predatory?*

MOORE: We have been having since 1985, yearly studies done by the University of Oxford, the TURU which is the Trade Union Research Unit of Oxford. The guy who was doing all this has passed away, so someone else has picked it up. We do have some studies that they are updating all the time about multi nationals and what they are doing, but this is happening so fast. One company buying another, investing or merging or separating, all of this is it is impossible to keep track of it. However, if you take this as an example. We have a good contract with NYNEX. We have a contract but not one we are proud of with Bell Atlantic. They are merging. We are hoping that we can influence changes for the better in the Bell Atlantic being used by NYNEX. If it happens the other way around, we will have trouble in 1998 negotiating a contract with the new company because we are hoping they will adopt the industrial policies of NYNEX. All of this is because as you know, right on the border we have Ameritech and Southern Bell and Southwestern Bell, you know some other company competing. This makes our members not sleep well. Our members kind of go to bed thinking will I have a job tomorrow? What

is this going to cost to my family? That creates a very tense situation. As I said, when I see that they plan to replace me with someone who is capable of doing the work, I'm not leaving.

*KIENZLE: You are staying. Any final words of wisdom you'd like to pass on?*

MOORE: I tell you I am just very proud to have been a part of all of this regardless of all the criticism and all the negatives, all of the bad things some people blame us for, we won. That should never be forgotten.

*KIENZLE: You mean the cold war?*

MOORE: Well, you want to call it the cold war. I think there were the forces who were trying to close society and those forces who want an open society, and we won.

*KIENZLE: The democratic forces.*

MOORE: The democratic forces. Now, how much we won in Eastern Europe I don't want to go into that because that is another topic all together. I think that the timing for Eastern Europe to open up was the wrong time. They now have open borders but not democracy. It will be a long time before they have democracy. They don't even have financial stability. They don't even have organized government. It is really terrible I think that if it had been when the cold war was real strong, I think we probably would have dedicated more attention and resources to that. We left them on their own and there are tremendous \_\_\_\_\_ going on in almost every one of those countries.

*KIENZLE: And in Asia?*

MOORE: Asia is even worse. Except for China which is doing very good in the upswing.

*KIENZLE: Economically.*

MOORE: Economically, but with tremendous violations of trade union rights. We don't know what is going to happen in Hong Kong or in Thailand or Burma. There are cases where people don't have any rights right now and are getting worse. We have lost some of the ability of twisting arms. I think that the companies are moderating that very much. They don't care what is happening as long as they can make a profit.

*KIENZLE: Africa, have you been active in that?*

MOORE: Yeah I have been pretty active in that as well. That is a little bit more involved because that as more colonial things left there that are causing some problems. You have the attitude of the people, the lack of education is so basic. It will take a long time; we have to spend a lot more time and resources in Africa. I think that because of resources is poorly confident of the future, politically it is totally disorganized. A long way to go. Maybe South Africa will become a force in that.

*KIENZLE: South Africa has come a long way in a short time.*

MOORE: It certainly has, all because they changed their political system. It still has to become neutral again before it can be more productive, but I have great hopes. I think that if we are to succeed somehow, I think that we need more people that are concerned about international work. It doesn't work well to see people talking about leaving the United Nations or not supporting the United Nations. This is a concept that should be very clear in the mind of every American, that we support organizations like that. Even as poor as they may be, we need to build them and then improve them.

*KIENZLE: Well, on that note of optimism, I want to thank you, Lou, for giving us this interview. I also want to go on the record for thanking the Byrne Foundation for its support of the Labor Diplomacy Oral History Project. They helped us a great deal in doing transcriptions and working with our materials.*

MOORE: You are very welcome. I again repeat, if you do get that note to me, I will be happy to see if I can get some approval, Okay.

*KIENZLE: And on that note, we'll close. Thank you very much.*

MOORE: I think it is worth it. I think history should be recorded.

*KIENZLE: We want to leave an accurate record of what efforts have been made in the international labor movement. That is our goal.*

MOORE: I can tell you, I think we have a long ways to go yet. Up until now, I think we can call it a success.

*KIENZLE: OK, thank you.*

*End of interview*